

Trade in the House
32

GENUINE
ABSTRACTS

FROM
TWO SPEECHES

OF THE LATE
EARL OF CHATHAM:

AND
His REPLY to the Earl of SUFFOLK.

WITH SOME
INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS AND NOTES.

—“*Quanto magis admiraremini, si audissetis ipsum!*”

Æschines de Demosthene. Cic. de Oratore.

L O N D O N :

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P R E F A C E.

THE Editor of the following Abstracts hopes, that some introductory explanation will not be unacceptable, of the manner in which they have been preserved, and the allowances with which they should be read.

Soon after the respective dates of their delivery, he was favoured with the manuscript copies, by the gentleman whose memory had served him sufficiently to commit them to writing,—with an exactness unusual in the recital of public debates. For, if the reader were fortunate enough to have heard them pronounced, he will here recollect, not only the substance, but in great measure the form and phrase in which they were spoken.

It must be observed, that this recital professes to extend only to parts of the speeches actually delivered by Lord Chatham. It is not perhaps within possibility, that the unassisted memory of one

person should retain *verbatim* the whole of such speeches. But the Editor knows it was the wish and care of his friend, faithfully to represent as much as was possible of the great original; submitting to give an incomplete rather than a spurious likeness. It was particularly his study to preserve the genuine diction of the noble speaker;—as, of all the characteristic features by which his oratory was distinguished, none was more eminent than the bold purity and classical force of his phraseology.—It was so strong and singular as to deserve, and at the same time to facilitate, an exact recollection.

For the authenticity of these abstracts, it were perhaps sufficient to refer to themselves:—their peculiar energy of style and sentiment, is their best authentication. But, besides this internal evidence, the Editor has also the satisfaction of assuring the public, that the concurring approbation of many accurate and respectable judges has given sanction to the faithfulness of his friend's representation—as far as it extends.

It may be proper to observe, that from posterior recollection of the substance of some passages, and revival of a few others in his memory, by conversation, or desultory hints in news-papers, the Editor's friend could have greatly encreased the
bulk

bulk of these transcripts; and correctly too, as to matter; but the mode of expression was lost. *Fugerat irrevocabile verbum.* And he was as unwilling to interpolate any language of his own, as he was unable to render it consistent with the genuine style of the great original *.

But the candour and imagination of the reader must supply another deficiency in our representation of Lord Chatham's oratory, more affecting our purpose of exhibiting its true likeness, than the partial imperfection we have mentioned.—Those who have been witnesses to the wonders of his eloquence—who have listened to the music of his voice, or trembled at its majesty—who have seen the persuasive gracefulness of his action, or have felt its force;—those who have caught the flame of eloquence from his eye—who have rejoiced in the glories of his countenance—or shrunk from his frowns,—will remember the resistless power with which he impressed conviction. In these sketches of his original genius, they will read what they have heretofore heard; and their memory will give due action to

* This, it is hoped, will be sufficient apology to the reader for the abruptness in the beginning of the first speech; which the Editor's friend unfortunately did not hear, and would not presume to supply.—Before he came into the house, Lord Chatham had been speaking for some time.

the picture, by re-figuring to their minds what they have with admiration seen.— But, to those who never heard nor saw this accomplished orator, the utmost effort of imagination will be necessary, to form a just idea of that combination of excellence, which gave perfection to his eloquence:—his elevated aspect, commanding the awe and mute attention of all who beheld him ; whilst a certain grace in his manner, conscious of all the dignities of his situation, of the solemn scene he acted in, as well as his own exalted character, seemed to acknowledge and repay the respect he received:—his venerable form, bowed with infirmity and age ; but animated by a mind which nothing could subdue:—his spirit shining through him, arming his eye with lightning, and cloathing his lips with thunder ;—or, if milder topics offered, harmonising his countenance in smiles, and his voice in softness ;—for the compass of his powers was infinite. As no idea was too vast, no imagination too sublime, for the grandeur and majesty of his manner ; so no fancy was too playful, nor any allusion too comic, for the ease and gaiety with which he could accommodate to the occasion. But the *character* of his oratory was dignity: this presided throughout ; giving force, because securing respect, even to his sallies of pleasantry.

This

This elevated the most familiar language, and gave novelty and grace to the most familiar allusions ; so that, in his hand, even the crutch became a weapon of oratory*.

This extraordinary personal dignity, supported on the basis of his well-earned fame, at once acquired to his opinions an assent which is slowly given to the argument of other men. His assertions rose into proof : his foresight became prophecy.—Besides the general sanction of his character, and the decisive dignity with which he pronounced his sentiments, it was also well known that he carefully cultivated the most authentic channels of intelligence. And it was an additional and just praise to him, that he exerted the great influence of his name, and his other opportunities, to investigate the purest sources of political information. But, as the activity of his public zeal stimulated him to such exertion ; so the superiority of his genius directed him to higher sources. *For other men*, even the mechanical medium of official knowledge is a sphere *too laborious*. Though Lord Chatham's duty did not disdain, his spirit soared above such little adventitious

* *Telum Oratoris*, CIC.—“ You talk, my lords,
“ of conquering America — of your numerous
“ friends there, to annihilate the Congress—and your
“ powerful forces to disperse her army :—*I might as*
“ *well talk of driving them before me with this crutch.*”
LORD CHATHAM.

advantages. His was intelligence in a truer sense, and from the noblest source; —“ from his own sagacious mind *.” — His intuition, like faith, seemed superior to the common forms of reasoning. No clue was necessary to the labyrinth illuminated by his genius. Truth came forth at his bidding, and realised the wish of the philosopher:—she was seen and beloved.

It is by no means in the intention or the limits of this paper, and still less within the abilities of the writer, to analyse all the oratory of Lord Chatham, or give a full and just description of excellence so various. If the few imperfect hints that have been offered, can convey any idea of the vigour and animation of his manner, they will have attained their purpose: and the remains of his eloquence will afford proportionate pleasure: “ *even in his ashes shall survive their wonted fires.*”

* He is his own best expositor. In a debate, 1770, on the papers relative to Falkland's Island, he explained this subject, *for the benefit of the ministers.* “ Let them not screen themselves behind the want of Intelligence:—they *had* Intelligence:—I know they had:—If they had not, they are criminal; and their excuse is their crime.—But I will tell these young ministers, the true source of Intelligence: It is Sagacity;—Sagacity to compare causes and effects; to judge of the present state of things, and discern the future, by careful review of the past.—Oliver Cromwell, who astonished mankind by his Intelligence, did not derive it from spies in the cabinet of every prince in Europe: he drew it from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind.”

GENUINE ABSTRACTS, &c.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

JANUARY 20th, 1775.

THE Earl of Dartmouth, then secretary of state for America, produced the official American papers.

The EARL OF CHATHAM, after strongly inveighing against the dilatoriness of administration, &c. proceeded as follows:

—— “ But as I have not the honour of access to his Majesty, I will endeavour to transmit to him, through the constitutional channel of this house, my ideas of America, to rescue him from the misadvice of his present ministers. I congratulate your lordships that the business is *at last* entered upon, by the noble
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lord's * laying the papers before you. As I suppose your lordships too well apprized of their contents, I hope I am not premature, in submitting to you my present motion :

“ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to desire
 “ and beseech his Majesty, that in order
 “ to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in
 “ America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there ;
 “ and above all, for preventing in the
 “ mean time any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under
 “ the daily irritation of an army before
 “ their eyes, posted in their town ; it
 “ may graciously please his Majesty that
 “ immediate orders be dispatched to general Gage, for removing his Majesty's
 “ forces from the town of Boston as soon
 “ as the rigour of the season, and other
 “ circumstances indispensable to the safety
 “ and accommodation of the said troops,
 “ may render the same practicable.” —

* Lord Dartmouth.

I wish,

I wish, my lords, not to lose a day in this urgent pressing crisis; an hour now lost in allaying the ferment in America, may produce years of calamity; for my own part, I will not desert for a moment the conduct of this mighty business, from the first to the last; unless nailed to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitted attention; I will knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their important danger.

When I state the importance of the Colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger hanging over this country, from the present plan of mis-administration practised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence but justice to America: and I shall ever contend that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree:—they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation; but let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of

those ordinances, and their private, internal property; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies;—else, *it will cease to be property*.—As to the metaphysical refinements attempting to shew that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints, as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepresented here; I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless.

When I urge this measure of recalling the troops from Boston, I urge it on this pressing principle, that it is necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace, and the establishment of your prosperity.—It will then appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably; and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it shall be found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout your empire.

Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations

tions of the omnipotence of parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince or enslave your fellow-subjects in America; who feel that tyranny, whether *ambitioned* by an individual part of the legislature, or the * bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects.

The means of enforcing this thralldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice, as they are unjust in principle. Indeed I cannot but feel the most anxious sensibility for the situation of general Gage, and the troops under his com-

* A favourite idea prevailed, and was often urged in argument by administration, "that absolute passive obedience is due to all possible acts of the legislature, which must not, *in any case whatever*, be questioned, much less resisted, by the people." Mr. Locke thought otherwise; as his able and constitutional expounder, Lord Camden, has often demonstrated. But, in truth, it is a point rather of *practical* policy.—If, however, the postulatam were admitted in *speculation*, the inference will not reach from Westminster to Boston. It will remain to be proved, that our *lords spiritual and temporal* have *privilege* in America; and that *our* Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, are *their* representatives.

mand ; thinking him as I do, a man of humanity and understanding ; and entertaining, as I ever will, the highest respect, the warmest love, for the British troops.—Their situation is truly unworthy ; penn'd up—pining in inglorious inactivity. They are an army of impotence :—you may call them an army of safety and of guard ; but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt : and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation. But I find a report *creeping* abroad, that the ministers censure general Gage's inactivity :—let *them* censure him—it becomes them—it becomes their *justice* and their *honour* :—*I* mean not censure his inactivity ;—it is a prudent and necessary inaction : but it is a miserable condition, where disgrace is prudence, and where it is necessary to be contemptible. This tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured ; for the first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war might be *immedicabile vulnus*.

I therefore urge and conjure your lordships,

ships, immediately to adopt this conciliating measure ;—I will pledge myself for its immediately producing conciliatory effects, by its being thus well-timed ; but if you delay 'till your vain hope shall be accomplished, of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever.—But admitting that this hope, which in truth is desperate, should be accomplished, what do you gain by the imposition of your victorious amity ?—you will be untrusted and unthanked. Adopt then the grace, while you have the opportunity of reconciliation ; or at least prepare the way.—Allay the ferment prevailing in America, by removing the obnoxious hostile cause ;—obnoxious and unserviceable ; for their merit can be only in inaction ; “ *Non* “ *dimicare et vincere :*” their victory can never be by exertions.—Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people ; with arms in their hands, and courage in their hearts :—three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those desarts by

the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny.—And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased?—Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues?—Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity?—beyond the accounts of history or description of poetry :—“ *Rba-*
“ *damantibus habet durissima regna, castigat*
“ *que, AUDIT QUE :*”—so says the wisest poet, and perhaps the wisest statesman and politician :—but our ministers say, the Americans *must not be heard*.—They have been condemned *unheard*; the indiscriminating hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hostility has blocked up the town *, and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants.

But his Majesty is advised, that the union in America cannot last. Ministers have more eyes than I, and should have more ears; but from all the information I have been able to procure, I can pro-

* Boston.

nounce it, an union, solid, permanent, and effectual. — Ministers may satisfy themselves, and delude the public, with the report of what they call commercial bodies in America. — They are *not* commercial :—they are your packers and factors ; they live upon nothing—for I call commission nothing ;—I mean the ministerial *authority* for this American intelligence ; the runners for government, who are paid for their intelligence.—But these are not the men, nor this the influence, to be considered in America, when we estimate the firmness of their union. Even to extend the question, and to take in the really mercantile circle, will be totally inadequate to the consideration. Trade indeed increases the wealth and glory of a country ; but its real strength and stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land :—in their simplicity of life is found the simpleness of virtue,—the integrity and courage of freedom.—These true genuine sons of the earth are invincible : and they surround and hem in the mercantile bodies ; even if these bodies, which
supposition

supposition I totally disclaim, could be supposed disaffected to the cause of liberty. —Of this general spirit existing in the American *nation*;—for so I wish to distinguish the real and genuine Americans from the pseudo-traders I have described —of this spirit of independence*, animating the *nation* of America, I have the most authentic information:—It is not new among them; it is, and has ever been, their established principle; their confirmed persuasion; it is their nature, and their doctrine.

I remember some years ago, when the repeal of the stamp act was in agitation, conversing in a friendly confidence with a person of undoubted respect and authen-

* (*i. e.*) of *legal liberty*;—the *independence* of freemen, contra-distinguished to the *dependent* state of slaves.—It was thought necessary to specify this idea, lest lord Chatham should have been misconceived to have imputed to America an original *wish of disconnection* from this country. On the contrary, when that fatal event did occur, his lordship attributed it to a very different cause from the *inclination* of America. —“ That state of independency into which your *measures* hitherto have driven her.”—See next speech.

ticity,

ticity, on that subject ; and he assured me, with a certainty which his judgment and opportunities gave him, that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America ;—That you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniencies, of life ; but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have—— what, my lords ?——their *woods* and their *liberty*.—The name of my authority, if I am called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably.

If illegal violences have been, as it is said, committed in America ; prepare the way, open the door of possibility, for acknowledgment and satisfaction : but proceed not to such coercion, such proscription ; cease your indiscriminate inflictions ; amerce not thirty thousand—oppress not three millions—for the fault of forty or fifty !—Such severity of injustice must for ever render incurable the wounds you have already given your colonies ;—you irritate them to unappeasable rancour.—What though you march from town to town,

town, and from province to province; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission—which I only suppose, not admit—how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress?—to grasp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent, populous in valour, liberty, and resistance!

This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen:—It was obvious from the nature of things, and of mankind; and above all from the whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America, is the * same which formerly

* Not so, according to the political logic of administration; which would prove the *Toryism* of “this American spirit.” In the debate for an address, on the first day of the session, October 26th, 1775, Mr. Fox urged, with his usual ability, what he conceived to be Whig-principles; principles, consulting the good of the *governed*, rather than the *governors*; principles jealously securing the *rights of the people* against every encroachment of power: and these, he thought, had some relation to the cause and conduct of America. But the noble lord, who is sometimes *roused* by that

formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money, in England :—the same spirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the bill of rights vindicated the English constitution :—the same spirit which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, *that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent*.

This glorious spirit of whiggism animates three millions in America : — who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and sordid affluence ; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen.—What shall oppose this spirit ? —aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breasts of every whig in England, that gentleman's manner of speaking, undertook to prove the contrary.—“ Administration are the “ Whigs ; and the Americans are Tories. — Administration wish to maintain the power of *parliament*, “ which is the true whig-principle.—The Americans, “ on the contrary, would annihilate the authority of “ parliament, but profess themselves willing to obey “ the *crown* :—the perfect description of a Tory !” — One would imagine from such reasoning “ *run mad*,” (to borrow the phrase of a right reverend politician) that his lordship had studied *whiggism* under *his grace*.

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to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers?—Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cause of the Colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for, is and must be observed.—This country superintends and controuls their trade and navigation ; but they *tax themselves*. And this distinction between external and internal control is sacred and insurmountable ; it is involved in the abstract nature of things.—Property is private, individual, absolute :—Trade is an extended and complicated consideration ;—it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow ; it is a great and various machine :—To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation ; for it does not exist in that relation ;—there is no such thing, *no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property.*

perty.—Let this distinction then remain for ever ascertained; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours.—As an American I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation; as an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle, is the common cause of the whigs on the other side the Atlantic, and on this: —“ ’Tis liberty to liberty engaged,” that they will defend themselves, their families and their country.—In this great cause they are immoveably allied: it is the alliance of God and nature—immutable, eternal,—fixed as the firmament of Heaven!—

To such united force, what force shall be opposed?—What, my lords?—A few regiments in America, and seventeen or eighteen thousand men at home!—The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your lordship’s time.—Nor can
such

such a national and principled union be resisted by the tricks of office, or ministerial manœuvre. Laying of papers on your table, or counting noses on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger:—it must arrive my lords, unless these fatal acts are done away; it must arrive in all its horrors, and then these boastful ministers, spite of all their confidence, and all their manœuvres, shall be forced to hide their heads.—They shall be forced to a disgraceful abandonment of their present measures and principles: principles which they avow, but cannot defend;—measures which they presume to attempt, but cannot hope to effectuate.—They cannot, my lords, they cannot stir a step;—they have not a *move* * left;—they are *check-mated*.

But

* An allusion to the game of chess.—The *king* is the object of the game; and therefore the most valuable, though not the most powerful, piece on the board. *Check-mate* is that situation where he is so weakly supported by his pieces, or so entangled by their injudicious disposition, that he cannot escape. This danger is often incurred by exposing himself too much, and
taking

But it is not repealing this act of parliament, or that act of parliament, it is not repealing a *piece of parchment*, that can restore America to our bosom : you must repeal her fears, and her resentments ; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force, posted at Boston ; irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you *could* force them, would be suspicious and insecure ; they will be *irato animo* ; they will not be the sound, honourable pactions of freemen ; they will be the dictates of fear, and extortions of force.—But it is more than evident, that you cannot force them, principled and united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission—it is impossible :

taking too active a part in the game. Vide Philidor, *Analyse du Jeu des Echecs*.—It is certainly a noble and royal pastime. Charles I. was actually playing at it in the Scots camp, when intelligence was brought to him of their final resolution to betray him. In due praise of the royal steadiness, the historian observes, that “ *he continued his game without interruption.*” See Hume’s *Hist. of England* : — or, as Lord Chatham once called it in the House of Lords “ *his APOLOGY for the House of Stuart.*”

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And when I hear general Gage censured for inactivity, I must retort with indignation on those, whose intemperate measures and improvident councils have betrayed him into his present situation.—His situation reminds me, my lords, of the answer of a French general in the civil wars of France — Monsieur Conde opposed to Monsieur Turenne : he was asked, how it happened that he did not take his adversary prisoner, as he was often very near him : “ J’ai peur,” replied Conde, very honestly, “ J’ai peur “ qu’il ne me prenne ;” *I’m afraid he’ll take me.*——

When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America ; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own.—For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—and it has been my favourite study ; I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity,

flagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia.—I trust it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental *nation*, must be vain, must be fatal.—We shall be *forced ultimately to retract*; let us retract while we can, not when we must.—I say we must necessarily undo these violent oppressive acts * : *they must be repealed;—you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I stake my reputation on it:—I will consent to be taken for*

* Acts of parliament passed the preceding session;—for shutting up the port of Boston; altering the charter of the Massachusetts Bay, &c.—The noble speaker's prediction has been strictly verified; the repeal of these acts was *at last*, after three years successful war, sent out as a peace-offering to the Congress of America:—whether with a “dignity becoming the once exalted character of this country, or thro’ a disgraceful humiliating necessity,”—let the feelings of this country confess.

an idiot, if they are not finally repealed.—

Avoid then this humiliating, disgraceful necessity.—With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace, and happiness: for *that* is your true dignity, to act with prudence and with justice.—That *you* should first concede, is obvious from sound and rational policy.—Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from the superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men; and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude.

So thought a wise poet and a wise man in political sagacity; the friend of Mæcenæ, and the eulogist of Augustus.—To him, the adopted son and successor of the first Cæsar, to him, the master of the world, he wisely urged this conduct of prudence and dignity; “*Tuque prior, tu parce;—projice tela manu.*”——

Every motive therefore of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America,

—by a removal of your troops from Boston,—by a repeal of your acts of parliament,—and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your Colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures.—Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread :—France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors ;—with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your Colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

To conclude, my lords : If the Ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown ; but I will affirm, *that they will make the crown not worth his wearing* :—I will not say that the King is betrayed ; but I will pronounce, *that the kingdom is undone.*”

The reader will recollect that the preceding speech was made on January 20, 1775. He will have observed that the motion which it accompanied, for removing his Majesty's troops from Boston, was urged by the noble speaker expressly on the ground of *peaceably* accommodating the dispute with America. He will remember that the only ground of dispute then, was *the Taxation of that country claimed by this*; the attempted exercise of which, had produced a riot at Boston. The *Independence* of America was not then in contemplation: unless in the reveries of a reverend writer on the subject, who maintained a proposition, memorable only for its *singularity*; "that the Independence of America would be a beneficial event to England."—To the Americans it never occurred, unless for the refutation of some injurious suspicions, by the most solemn, absolute, and express disavowal.

The noble lord's motion was, however, rejected: and hostilities commenced at
Lexington,

Lexington, on the 19th of the following April.

It is unnecessary to particularize the subsequent events. They are too well known, too severely felt, by every friend of his country. "*Years of Calamity*" fatally fulfil the prophecy of Lord Chatham. The British Empire has sustained the "*immedicabile vulnus*" which his wisdom would have averted.—How he would have corrected the disorder at its *Crisis*, before it attained its desperate malignity, will be seen in the following speech, on November 20th, 1777. His Majesty's most gracious Speech of that day is prefixed; that the "*Confidence*" and "*Hopes*" expressed in it by his Majesty's Ministers, may fairly stand in contrast with the opinions of Lord Chatham. Let history form the comment.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

NOVEMBER 20th, 1777.

HIS Majesty opened the session with the following most gracious speech from the throne :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is a great satisfaction to me, that I can have recourse to the wisdom and support of my Parliament in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in North America demands our most serious attention. The powers which you have entrusted me with, for the suppression of this revolt, have been most faithfully exerted; and I have a just confidence, that the conduct and courage of my officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of my forces, both by sea and land, will, under the blessing of Divine Providence, be attended with important success. But as I am persuaded that you will see the necessity of preparing for such further operations

as

as the contingencies of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels, may render expedient; I am for that purpose pursuing the proper measures for keeping my land-forces complete to their present establishment: and if I should have occasion to encrease them, by contracting any new engagements, I rely on your zeal and public spirit to enable me to make them good.

“ I receive repeated assurances from foreign powers, of their pacific dispositions; my own cannot be doubted: but, at this time, when the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continue, I have thought it advisable to make a considerable augmentation to my naval force; as well to keep my kingdoms in a respectable state of security, as to provide an adequate protection for the extensive commerce of my subjects. And, as on the one hand, I am determined that the peace of Europe shall not be disturbed by me, so, on the other, I will always be a faithful guardian of the honour of the crown of Great Britain.

“ Gentlemen

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. The various services which I have mentioned to you will unavoidably require large supplies : and nothing could relieve my mind from the concern which I feel for the heavy charge which they must bring on my faithful people, but the perfect conviction that they are necessary for the welfare and the essential interests of my kingdoms.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I will steadily pursue the measures in which we are engaged, for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which, with the blessing of God, I will maintain through the several parts of my dominions. But I shall ever be watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war. And I still hope, that the deluded and unhappy
multitude

multitude will return to their allegiance ; and that the remembrance of what they once enjoyed, the regret for what they have lost, and the feelings of what they now suffer under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will rekindle in their hearts a spirit of loyalty to their sovereign, and of attachment to their mother country ; and that they will enable me, with the concurrence and support of my Parliament, to accomplish what I shall consider as the greatest happiness of my life, and the greatest glory of my reign, the restoration of peace, order, and confidence, to my American Colonies."

In answer to his Majesty's most gracious speech, lord Percy moved their lordships to concur in an address, in the following terms :

" That they, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return his Majesty their humble thanks for his most gracious speech from the throne :

" To

“ To offer their congratulations to his Majesty on the encrease of his domestic happiness, by the birth of another princess, and the recovery of his royal Consort; who is most highly endeared to this nation, as well by her Majesty’s eminent and amiable virtues, as by every new pledge of security to our religious and civil liberties.

“ That they are duly sensible of his Majesty’s goodness in recurring to the advice and support of his parliament in the present conjuncture, when the rebellion in North America still continues : And to return his Majesty their unfeigned thanks for having communicated to them, the just confidence which his Majesty reposes in the zeal, intrepidity, and exertions of his Majesty’s officers and forces, both by sea and land : but at the same time, that they entertain a well-founded hope of the important successes, which, under the blessing of Providence may be expected : That they cannot but applaud his Majesty’s unwearied vigilance and wisdom, in recommending to them to prepare, at all events,

for

for such further operations as the contingencies of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels may render expedient :—That they are therefore gratefully sensible of his Majesty's consideration, in pursuing the measures necessary to keep his land-forces complete to the present establishment ; and that they owe it both to his Majesty and themselves to say, that they shall chearfully concur in enabling his Majesty to make good such new engagements with foreign powers, for the augmentation of the auxiliary troops, as the weighty motives his Majesty has stated, may induce him to contract.

“ That it is with great satisfaction they learn, that his Majesty receives repeated assurances from foreign powers of their pacific dispositions ; and that, with hearts full of gratitude and admiration, they acknowledge his Majesty's humane, steady, and dignified conduct, which is equally well calculated to demonstrate to the world, his Majesty's wish to preserve the general tranquillity of Europe, and his determination to maintain the honour of the crown, the security of these kingdoms,

doms, and the commercial interests of his subjects.

“ That they thankfully receive his Majesty’s declaration of perseverance in the measures now pursuing, for the re-establishment of a just and constitutional subordination through the several parts of his Majesty’s dominions ; and beg leave to assure his Majesty, that they participate the desire which at the same time animates his royal breast, to see a proper opportunity for putting an end to the effusion of blood, and the various calamities inseparable from a state of war.

“ That the constant tenor of his Majesty’s reign has shewn, that his whole attention is employed for the safety and happiness of all his people ; and that, whenever their unhappy fellow-subjects in North America shall duly return to their allegiance, they shall readily concur in every wise and salutary measure which can contribute to restore confidence and order, and to fix the mutual welfare of Great Britain and her Colonies on the most solid and permanent foundations.”

L O R D

LORD CHATHAM.

“ I rise, my lords, to declare my sentiments on this most solemn and serious subject. It has imposed a load upon my mind, which I fear nothing can remove; but which impels me to endeavour its alleviation, by a free and unreserved communication of my sentiments.—

“ In the first part of the address, I have the honour of heartily concurring with the noble earl who moved it. No man feels sincerer joy than I do, none can offer more genuine congratulation on every accession of strength to the protestant succession: I therefore join in every congratulation on the birth of another princess, and the happy recovery of her Majesty.—But I must stop here—my courtly complaisance will carry me no farther;—I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace;—I cannot concur in a blind and servile address, which approves, and endeavours to sanctify, the monstrous measures that
have

have heaped disgrace and misfortune upon us—that have brought ruin to our doors. This, my lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment! It is not a time for adulation;—the smoothness of flattery cannot now avail—cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis:—it is now necessary to instruct the throne in the language of truth.—We must dispel the delusion and the darkness which envelop it, and display, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors.—

“ This, my lords, is our duty; it is the proper function of this noble assembly, fitting as we do upon our honours in this house, the hereditary council of the crown:—And *who* is the minister—*where* is the minister, that has dared to suggest to the throne the contrary, unconstitutional language, this day delivered from it?—The accustomed language from the throne has been application to parliament for advice, and a reliance on its constitutional advice and assistance;—as it is the right of parliament to give, so it
is

is the duty of the crown to ask it:—
 But on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on our constitutional counsels!—no advice is asked from the sober and enlightened care of parliament! but the crown from itself, and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue measures—And what measures, my lords?—the measures that have produced the imminent perils that threaten us, the measures that have brought ruin to our doors.—

“ Can the minister of the day now presume to expect a continuance of support, in this ruinous infatuation?—Can parliament be so dead to its dignity, and its duty, as to be thus deluded into the loss of the one, and the violation of the other?—To give an unlimited credit and support for the *steady* perseverance in measures;—*that* is the word and the conduct, not proposed for our parliamentary advice, but dictated and forced upon us—in measures I say, my lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to
D
ruin

ruin and contempt!—" *But yesterday, and*
" England might have stood against the
" world ;— now none so poor to do her re-
" verence."—I use the words of a poet ;
 but though it be poetry, it is no fiction.
 —It is a shameful truth, that not alone
 the power and strength of this country
 are wasting away and expiring, but her
 well-earned glories, her true honour, and
 substantial dignity, are sacrificed.—France,
 my lords, has insulted you ; — she has
 encouraged and sustained America :— and
 whether America be wrong or right, the
 dignity of this country ought to spurn at
 the officious insult of French interfe-
 rence.—The ministers and embassadors of
 those who are called rebels and enemies,
 are in Paris : in Paris, they transact the
 reciprocal interests of America and France.
 —Can there be a more mortifying insult ?
 —Can even our ministers sustain a more
 humiliating disgrace ?—Do they dare to
 resent it ?—Do they presume even to hint
 a vindication of their honour, and the
 dignity of the state, by requiring the
 dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of
 America ?—

America ? — Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England ! — The people whom they affected to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at last obtained the name of enemies ;—the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and against whom they now command our implicit support in every measure of desperate hostility ;—this people, despised as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy !—and our ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect.—Is this the honour of a great kingdom ?—Is this the indignant spirit of England, who, “ but yesterday ” gave law to the house of Bourbon ? My lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. Even when the greatest prince that perhaps this country ever saw, filled our throne, the requisition of a Spanish general, on a similar subject, was attended to,

and complied with ; for, on the spirited remonstrance of the duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herself obliged to deny the Flemish exiles all countenance, support, or even entrance into her dominions ; and the count Le Marque, with his few desperate followers, was expelled the kingdom :—happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defence, they made themselves masters of the place—and this was the foundation of the United Provinces.

“ My lords, this ruinous and ignominious situation, where we cannot act with success, nor suffer with honour, calls upon us to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of truth, to rescue the ear of Majesty from the delusions which surround it.—The desperate state of our arms abroad is in part known—No man thinks more highly of them than I do : I love and honour the English troops ; I know their virtues, and their valour ; —I know they can atchieve any thing —except impossibilities ; and I know that the conquest of English America *is an impossibility.*

impossibility. You cannot, I venture to say it, YOU CANNOT conquer America. Your armies last war effected every thing that could be effected ; and what was it ?—It cost a numerous army, under the command of a most able general *, now a noble lord in this house, a long and laborious campaign, to expel five thousand Frenchmen from French America. —My lords, *you cannot conquer America.* —What is your present situation there ?—we do not know the worst ; but we know, that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps *total loss*, of the Northern force †,—The best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines ;—*he was obliged* to relin-

* Sir Jeffery (now Lord) Amherst.

† General Burgoyne's army. The history of it is short.—Most of its bravest officers fell ; and above half its numbers : the REST surrendered to the enemy on the 17th of October, 1777.—See the Gazettes.—The account of this *total loss*, as the noble speaker's prescience expressed it on the 20th of November, arrived in England in the beginning of December.

quish his attempt ; and with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant plan of operations—We shall soon know, and in any event have reason to lament, what may have happened since.—As to conquest, therefore, my lords, I repeat, it is impossible :—You may swell every expence, and every effort, still more extravagantly ; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow ; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince, that sells his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince ;—your efforts are for ever vain and impotent ;—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely : For it irritates to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies. To over-run them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder ; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty ! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never.—

“ Your own army is infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies.—The
spirit

spirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them.—I know it—and notwithstanding what the noble earl *, who moved the address, has given as his opinion of our American army, I know from authentic information, and the *most experienced officers*, that our discipline is deeply wounded.—Whilst this is notoriously our sinking situation, America grows and flourishes : whilst our strength and discipline is lowered, theirs rises and improves.

“ But, my lords, who is the man, that in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage ?—To call into civilized alliance, the wild and inhuman savage of the woods ; to delegate to the merciless Indian, the defence of disputed rights ; and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren ?—My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment ; unless thoroughly done away, it will be

* Lord Percy.

a stain on the national character—it is a violation of the constitution—I believe it is against law.—It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired ; — infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine—familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier ; no longer sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, “ that
 “ make ambition virtue ! ” — What makes ambition virtue ? — the sense of honour. — But is the sense of honour consistent with a spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder ? — Can it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds ? — Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers, what other allies have they acquired ? What *other powers* have they associated to their cause ? — Have they entered into alliance with the *king of the gypsies* ? — Nothing my lords is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels.

“ The

“ The independent views of America have been stated and asserted as the foundation of this address.—My lords, no man wishes more for the due dependance of America on this country than I do.—To preserve it, and not to confirm that state of independance into which *your measures* hitherto have *driven* them, is the object which we ought to unite in attaining.—The Americans, contending for their rights against arbitrary exactions, I love and admire ; it is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots : — but contending for independency and total disconnection from England, as an Englishman, I cannot wish them success ; for, in a due constitutional dependency, including the ancient supremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, consists the mutual happiness and prosperity both of England and America.—She derived assistance and protection from us ; and we reaped from her the most important advantages :—She was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our
naval

naval power.—It is our duty therefore, my lords, if we wish to save our country, most seriously to endeavour the recovery of these most beneficial subjects :—And in this perilous crisis, perhaps the present moment may be the only one in which we can hope for success; for in their negotiations with France, they have, or think they have, reason to complain :—though it be notorious that they have received from that power important supplies and assistance of various kinds, yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree :—America is in ill humour with France, on some points that have not entirely answered her expectations :—let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation.—Besides, the natural disposition of America herself still leans towards England, to the old habits of connexion and mutual interest that united both countries : this *was* the established sentiment of all the Continent ; and still, my lords, in the great and principal part, the sound part of America, this
wise

wise and affectionate disposition prevails :
 and there is a very considerable part of
 America yet sound—the middle and the
 southern provinces ; some parts may be
 factious and blind to their true interests ;
 —but if we express a wise and benevo-
 lent disposition to communicate with
 them those immutable rights of nature,
 and those constitutional liberties, to which
 they are equally entitled with ourselves ;
 —by a conduct so just and humane, we
 shall confirm the favourable, and conci-
 liate the adverse :—I say, my lords, the
 rights and liberties to which they are
 equally entitled with ourselves, but no
 more.—I would participate to them every
 enjoyment and freedom which the colo-
 nizing subjects of a free state can possess,
 or wish to possess ;—and I do not see
 why they should not enjoy every funda-
 mental right in their property, and every
 original substantial liberty, which De-
 vonshire or Surry, or the county I live
 in, or any other county in England, can
 claim ; reserving always, as the sacred
 right of the mother country, the due
 constitutional

constitutional dependency of the Colonies.—The inherent supremacy of the state in regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her subjects, is necessary for the mutual benefit and preservation of every part, to constitute and preserve the prosperous arrangement of the whole empire.

“ The sound parts of America, of which I have spoken, must be sensible of these great truths, and of their real interests.—America is not in that state of desperate and contemptible rebellion, which this country has been deluded to believe :—It is not a wild and lawless banditti, who, having nothing to lose, might hope to snatch something from public convulsions ;—many of their leaders and great men have a great stake in this great contest :—the gentleman who conducts their armies, I am told, has an estate of four or five thousand pounds a year :—and when I consider these things, I cannot but lament the inconsiderate violence of our penal acts, our declarations of treason and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiscation.

“ As

“ As to the disposition of foreign powers, which is asserted to be pacific* and friendly, let us judge, my lords, rather by their actions and the nature of things, than by interested assertions.—The uniform assistance supplied to America by France, suggests a different conclusion:—The most important interests of France, in aggrandizing and enriching herself with what she most wants, supplies of every naval store from America, must inspire her with different sentiments:—The extraordinary preparations of the House of Bourbon, by land and by sea, from Dunkirk to the Streights, equally ready and willing to overwhelm these defenceless islands, should rouse us to a sense of their real disposition, and our own danger.—Not five thousand troops in England!—hardly three thousand in Ireland!—What can we oppose to the combined force of our enemies?—Scarcely twenty ships of the line fully or sufficiently manned, that any admiral’s reputation would permit him to take the

* See the King’s Speech, Page 25.

command

command of *.—The river of Lisbon in the possession of our enemies!—The seas swept by American privateers:—Our channel torn to pieces by them!—In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home, and calamity abroad, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers,—

* In reply to the noble speaker's assertion relative to the number of ships, &c. the first lord of the Admiralty rose in his place; and gave their lordships *official assurance* "that *thirty-five* ships of the line were " *then* (November 20th 1777) compleatly ready; that " *seven* more would be ready in a few weeks; in all, " FORTY-TWO: and that an admiral of the most acknowledged merit (he *then* said) and of the highest " reputation, ADMIRAL KEPPEL, was ready to take " the command."—In March 1778, Admiral Keppel went to Portsmouth to take the command. He found " *but* SIX SHIPS ready," and those in ill condition.—See *Defence of Admiral Keppel*.—"On the 30th of June, " *twenty* ships of the line were ready, with which Admiral Keppel sailed. *Thirty-two* ships of the line then " lay in Brest-water, besides an incredible number of " frigates."—*Ibid.*—The English fleet were forced to return, from this vast superiority of the fleet of France.—" A first lord of the Admiralty, if he does " not take care always to have a fleet superior to " both France and Spain, *deserves to lose his head.*" LORD SANDWICH.

unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed;—Where is the man with the forehead to promise or hope for success in such a situation? or, from perseverance in the measures, that have driven us to it?—Who has the forehead to do so?—Where is that man?—I should be glad to see his face.

“ You cannot *conciliate* America by your present measures—you cannot *subdue* her by your present, or by any measures.—What then can you do?—You cannot conquer—you cannot gain—but you can *address*; you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that should produce them. But, my lords, the time demands the language of truth:—we must not now apply the flattering unction of servile compliance, or blind complaisance.—In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honour of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it:—but in such a war as this, unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences, I would
not

not contribute a single effort, nor a single shilling.—I do not call for vengeance on the heads of those who have been guilty—I only recommend to them to make their retreat—Let them walk off;—and let them make haste, or they may be assured that speedy and condign punishment will overtake them.

“ My lords, I have submitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my sentiments on your present awful situation.—I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the disgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your discipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domestic, that overwhelm your sinking country.—Your dearest interests, your own liberties, the constitution itself, totters to the foundation.—All this disgraceful danger, this multitude of misery, is the monstrous offspring of this unnatural war.—We have been deceived and deluded too long;—but let us now stop short:—this is the crisis,—may be the

only * crisis, of time and situation, to give us a possibility of escape from the fatal effects of our delusions.—But if in an obstinate and infatuated perseverance in folly, we meanly echo back the peremptory words this day presented to us, nothing can save this devoted country from complete and final ruin.—We madly rush into multiplied miseries and “confusion worse confounded.”

“Is it possible, can it be believed, that ministers are yet blind to this impending destruction?—I did hope, that instead of this false and empty vanity, this overweening pride, engendering high conceits, and presumptuous imaginations, — that ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors, would have confessed and retracted them, and by an active,

* It cannot have escaped observation, with what urgent anxiety the noble speaker has pressed this point throughout his speech; the critical necessity of *instantly* treating with America. But the warning voice was heard in vain: the *Address* triumphed: Parliament adjourned: ministers enjoyed the festive recess of a long Christmas:—and America ratified her alliance with France.

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though

though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them.—But, my lords, since they had neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice nor humanity to shun, these oppressive calamities ; — since, not even severe experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of parliament must interpose.—I shall therefore, my lords, propose to you an amendment to the address to his Majesty, to be inserted immediately after the two first paragraphs of congratulation on the birth of a princefs ;—to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries.—This, my lords, is yet in our power ; and let not the wisdom and justice of your lordships neglect the happy, and perhaps the only opportunity.—By the establishment of irrevocable laws, founded on mutual rights, and ascertained by treaty, these glorious enjoyments

ments may be firmly perpetuated.—And let me repeat to your lordships, that the strong bias of America, at least of the wiser and sounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and constitutional reconnection with you.—Notwithstanding the temporary intrigues with France, we may still be assured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us.—America and France cannot be congenial;—there is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American, that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

“ My lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded on every principle of affection, as well as consideration of interest — to restore that favourable disposition into a permanent and powerful re-union with this country — to revive the mutual strength of the empire;—again, to awe the house of Bourbon, instead of meanly truckling, as our present calamities compel us, to every insult of French caprice, and Spanish punctilio — to re-establish our commerce — to re-assert our rights

and our honour—to confirm our interests, and renew our glories for ever (a consummation most devoutly to be endeavoured ! and which, I trust, may yet arise, from reconciliation with America) — I have the honour of submitting to you the following amendment ; which I move to be inserted after the two first paragraphs of the address : ”

“ And that this house does most hum-
 “ bly advise and supplicate his Majesty,
 “ to be pleased to cause the most speedy
 “ and effectual measures to be taken, for
 “ restoring peace in America ; and that
 “ no time may be lost in proposing an
 “ immediate cessation of hostilities there,
 “ in order to the opening a treaty for the
 “ final settlement of the tranquillity of
 “ these invaluable provinces, by a re-
 “ moval of the unhappy causes of this
 “ ruinous civil war ; and by a just and
 “ adequate security against the return of
 “ the like calamities in times to come.—
 “ And this house desire to offer the most
 “ dutiful assurances to his Majesty, that
 “ they will, in due time, chearfully co-
 “ operate

“ operate with the magnanimity and ten-
“ der goodness of his Majesty, for the
“ preservation of his people, by such ex-
“ plicit and most solemn declarations,
“ and provisions of fundamental and ir-
“ revocable laws, as may be judged ne-
“ cessary for the ascertaining and fixing
“ for ever the respective rights of Great
“ Britain and her Colonies.”

IN the course of the debate, Lord Suffolk, secretary of state for the Northern department, undertook to defend the employment of the Indians in the war. His lordship contended, that, besides its *policy* and *necessity*, the measure was also allowable on *principle*; for that “it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and Nature put into our hands.”

“I AM ASTONISHED!”—(exclaimed LORD CHATHAM as he rose)—“shocked—to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed—in this house, or in this country:—principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian!—

“My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention; but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled by every duty:—My lords, we are called upon as members of this house, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions standing near the throne—polluting the
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ear of Majesty!—"That God and nature put into our hands!"—I know not what ideas that lord may entertain of God and nature; but I know, that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. — What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife, to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating — literally, my lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! — Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity; — and, my lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; — they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity.

"These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that *right reverend* bench, those holy ministers of the gospel, and pious pastors of our church:—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion
of

of their God. I appeal to the wisdom and the law of *this learned* bench, to defend and support the justice of their country. —I call upon the bishops to interpose the unfulled sanctity of their lawn ; — upon the learned judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution :—I call upon the honour of your lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own :—I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character.—I invoke the genius of the constitution!—From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble lord *, frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country.—In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain ; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion, the *Protestant religion*, of this country, against the arbitrary cru-

* Lord Effingham.—Lord Effingham Howard was Lord High Admiral of England against the Spanish Armada ; the destruction of which is represented in the tapestry.

elties of popery, and the inquisition—if these more than popish cruelties, and inquisitional practices are let loose among us;—to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child! to send forth the infidel savage,—against whom?—against your protestant brethren:—to lay waste their country—to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name; with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war!—*hell-hounds, I say, of savage war.*—Spain armed herself with blood-hounds, to extirpate the wretched natives of America;—and we improve on the inhuman example even of Spanish cruelty—we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion; endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity.

“ My lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most so-

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lemn and effectual enquiry : and I again call upon your lordships, and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion, to do away these iniquities from among us. — Let them perform a lustration ;—let them purify this house, and this country, from this sin.

“ My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more ; but my feelings and my indignation were too strong to have said less.—I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles.”

F I N I S.



